DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 261 844 RC 015 486

AUTHOR Chu, Lily
TITLE Rural Women's Vocational Training for National Development.
PUB DATE Oct 85
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Educational Research Association Conference (Las Cruces, NM, October 23-25, 1985).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Agricultural Production; Change Strategies; Cultural Influences; *Developing Nations; Economic Change; Economic Development; Educational Needs; *Females; Foreign Countries; Futures (of Society); Human Resources; Productivity; Quality of Life; *Rural Development; Rural Economics; Rural Extension; Rural Population; Sex Discrimination; *Sex Role; Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS Africa; Asia; Pakistan; *Third World

ABSTRACT

Although women are a crucial element in national rural development, their role continues to be neglected in plans and programs for change--especially in Third World countries. In addition to the burden faced by rural people generally in developing countries, women carry a double burden because of their low social status, high illiteracy rate, lack of control in child bearing, and lack of access to opportunities and power. Although these women are presently making massive contributions in farming, in home related industries, and in other types of productive work that are fundamental to the rural economy, they are seldom counted in the statistics of economic development. The extensive role of women in productive work has serious implications for rural development. The failure to involve women has undermined many rural development projects in the past. Men discussing post-harvest grain losses with extension agents, for example, are talking about the experiences of their women who store the grain. Those responsible for rural development projects must now begin to design new approaches, departing from the traditional home economics and nutrition programs in favor of training women to become cash earners, business handlers, nutrition planners, and farm and irrigation managers. (JHZ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED261844

Rural Women's Vocational Training for National Development

Lily Chu

Department of Counseling and Educational Psychology

New Mexico State University

University Park, New Mexico 88003

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Lily Chu

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

✓ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Educational Research Association Conference (Las Cruces, NM, October 23-25, 1985).

RC015486

Rural Women's Vocational Training for National Development

Lily Chu

New Mexico State University

Introduction

Most governments are now aware of the human problems and political dangers posed by the rising tide of people of working age and the shortage of suitable work opportunities. The resulting policy shifts are to be found in virtually all current national development plans. Increasing emphasis is being placed on equality of opportunity, employment and income-generation, re-distribution of wealth, and similar socio-economic objectives. The question is how best to translate such objectives into practical policies, plans and programmes in terms of available financial and operational resources--including trained manpower (United Nations, 1979, p.4).

Developmental plans in rural economy have indeed undergone many significant changes. However, one area of continuing concern is that these plans have not placed women's development as part of

the plans and programs for change. Women are presently involved in massive labor contributions in farming, in home related industries, in small business and other types of productive work that are fundamental to the rural economy, but they are seldom counted in the statistics of economic development. More crucially, women have not been equal recipients of vocational training and developmental programs to enhance their productive work. Consequently, the lack of women's involvement has undermined the effectiveness of those programs.

Rural poor now comprise about 75% of the total population in most countries. This rapidly expanding segment has a number of problems such as low incomes, a high rate of infant deaths, a low rate of employment, poor nutrition, inadequate housing, transportation and communication systems, not faced by their urban brothers and sisters (Ross, 1985). In addition to the burden faced by rural folk generally in developing countries, women, who form more than half of the group, carry a double burden because of their low social status, high illiteracy rate, lack of control in child bearing, and are without access to opportunities and power. Furthermore, many rural women in the third world have to live under male policy makers and bureaucracies which carry continuous bias against them, sanctioned by cultural and religious norms.

The present paper will examine the status of rural poor, and

the role women play as a missing link in developmental programs. The barriers to rural women's participation and development will be delineated, highlighted by the examples of Pakistan and other developing countries. Rural women have always contributed equally, if not more than men to the rural economy. Women can be trained to be effective change agents within family and social structures, and be more productive within local economies. In the area of rural national development, vocational training and personal development of rural women is a crucial element that can not be overlooked.

Rural Poor

UNESCO (One Third...., 1980) estimated that nearly one third of the world population, or 814 million people, mostly in the developing countries, can not read or write. In the United States alone, 25 million people are functionally illiterate (Project TARA, 1979). The inability of these people to read and write perpetuates a cycle of poverty, and makes changes slow, progress difficult. Rural people, particularly women, tend to be more conservative than urban people and consequently differ in their ways of dealing with newly introduced ideas and technologies (Brown, 1977). Rural farmers and their families take a "wait-and-see" attitude, they tend to rely on time-worn ways since these ways have been shown to work for them, albeit marginally. Rural folk sense higher degrees of culture conflict when they are confronted with different styles of living and different ways of eating and dressing (Larson, 1978). This does not imply

that there is a cultural vacuum among these folk, rather they have very strong cultural ways which are unique, but in many ways are fragile when bombarded with extraneous influence of modernization and high technology.

> The most fundamental dilemma is the culture conflict between the more conservative and traditional rural attitudes and the push for change inherent in education. This cultural conflict is not limited to issues relevant only to sex-roles, although they are probably the most noticeable ones. Along with progress, technological advances and social structure changes, the resultant conflicts may encompass all aspects of rural life. Rural educators and policy makers must address the issue of potential cultural conflict thoughtfully in order to create positive changes without destroying the essence of the rural ways of life" (Chu, 1980, p.12).

Rural folk tend to have a much smaller range of career opportunities available to them. Rural folk in developing countries experience a high degree of isolation from educational opportunities since most schools of any size are located along major roads near larger population centers. The same can be said about their isolation from adequate medical services. In countries such as Chad and Nigeria, among others, there is an extremely low ratio of doctors to the general population. Inadequate medical care is a way of life for most rural villagers. Many rural folk have attitudes

of low self esteem when they compare themselves to their urban cousins, to their dress, their life style and their mobility. Poverty is a feature of rural living in most of the developing world. Poverty breeds discontent, disease and social decay. Take for example the cases of rural poverty in Ethiopia, Somalia, and in much of sub-Saharan Africa. These poverty stricken areas have ended in lack of hope, lack of survival for millions and the decay of traditional ways of life.

Illiteracy and resulting lack of educational opportunity is a fact of life among most of the world's rural poor, including wealthy nations such as the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976). Lack of educational opportunity means that millions of poor rural peasants have no access to the social and political benefits in their respective countries. They become adaptive objects of the system rather than active subjects within the system. "The integrated person is person as subject. In contrast, the adaptive person is person as object, adaptation representing at most a weak form of self defense" (Freire, 1973, p.4). Rural folk lack the ability to participate fully and actively in decision making structures and succumb to the power of the elites. To quote Freire, ". . . without even realizing the loss, he relinquishes his capacity for choice, he is expelled from the orbit of decisions" (Freire, 1973, p.5).

Rural Women's Role in Development

During the last ten years there has been a growing awareness in the developing world, that the lack of women's participation in productive labor and educational development, is inimical to the larger problems of alleviating the world crises in food production, world hunger and over population.

In the last twenty years many developing nations have attained political independence. The impact, however, of colonial times remains a strong memory for urban and rural folk alike. Those who "made it" in the colonial period learned lessons of assimilation under colonial elites well. "In order to assimilate and to experience the oppressor's culture, the native has had to leave certain of his intellectual possessions in pawn" (Fanon, 1968, p. 49). Under newly formed nationalist governments, the rural poor have learned that independence itself has not significantly altered their state since poverty and hunger, and lack of integration into the power structure remain the hallmark of their condition. Women share the double burden of being females, child bearers and home maintainers in the milieu of placing their own "intellectual possessions in pawn" in male dominated rural cultures. Certainly, the prerequisite for development will need advances in a number of fronts for rural women, including more recognition for what contributions they now make, greater involvement in programs of training to enhance their productive capabilities, and educational programs to enhance their

literacy and political knowledge.

The World Conference of Agrarian Reform and World Development states:

> Recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agriculture and non-agricultural activities, in accordance with the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women, is a prerequisite for successful rural development planning and programme implementation. Rural development based on growth with equity will require full integration of women, including equitable access to land, water and other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills. There is also an urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's roles in rural activities and disseminate this information in order to promote greater awareness of women's role in society (Cloud, 1981, p.2).

In much of Europe and America, several factors have converged which have substantially changed the lives of women. First, the technologies for controlling fertility have greatly altered the life style, life, health and life expectancy of millions of women. The drop in the number of children born to women has been significant during the last twenty years. Second, the life span of women has increased, they enjoy better health and have more leisure time than did their mothers. Less than eighty years ago, many women died

young as a complication of child birth before they had raised all their children. Third, there has been the development of a number of household technologies such as appliances and food processing advancements which has reduced the boredom and drudgery of women's work in domestic settings. Fourth, women joined the labor forces in large numbers during the second world war and became the backbone of the industrial forces in Europe and America. They have continued to seek work outside the home, to the point that dual income families are now common place. Fifth, women have been able to pursue educations beyond high school to bolster their own career choices. Today, in more developed countries women stand side by side with men in the development of new technologies, in science and in industry. Educated women are beginning to make significant impacts politically on national and international scenes.

In spite of all of this, women do not enjoy a completely equal status in the more developed nations. It is still to a large degree a man's world. Women's choices and status are different than those of men. Women see the world differently than do men. "What we are now witnessing worldwide is the attempt of women to understand both their personal experience and the social constructions of families, culture, nations and the world system from their perspectives, from the places where women stand" (Cloud, 1981, p.3).

Rural women face more difficult problems than their urban sisters, In earned income and employment status rural women have fallen far

behind urban women and of course behind men generally (Chu, 1980). The value systems of rural women tend to be family oriented. They have more children, stay home longer during their child bearing years. They tend to perceive sex roles in more traditional ways. Rural girls tended to have narrower occupational preferences related to more traditional and restrictive female pursuits. Yet "rural women are actually the strength of rural life" (Chu, 1980).

Rural Women in Developing Countries

In most of the developing world women face similar problems related to economic and social development. Pakistan and other developing countries are used as cases in point to highlight these problems.

The 1981 census for Pakistan indicated that 78% of the total population lived in villages. Of this large group, only 2 to 4% were considered to be functionally literate. Of the total female population only 12% were considered to be economically independent, and only 3.2% were considered productively employed, despite the fact that rural women in Pakistan perform a vast amount of productive labor agriculturally. Under Islamic law women are subserviant to men and are required to do all household chores, nurse babies, rear children, and remain at home shielded (purdah) from the influences of other males and from the world at large. Women in purdah frequently have little knowledge of their country or of the world. Some women in Pakistan, particularly in the Province of Baluchistan,

seldom venture outside the walls (zerana) of their husband's home after marriage. Yet such women work and share in the productivity of their country.

In Pakistan culture, however, though women contribute to the familial earning they only have a sense of ownership under their husband. The economic status of rural women is thereby very low under Islamic common law.

> While working for her parents, she is treated as an alien and her father and brothers will try their best to deprive her of her share. While working for her husband's family she again renders unrecognized labor. She may be carrying more than a double burden but she has no claims on property or capital goods of the household. In fact, her acceptance and stay in the in-laws house depends on the pleasure of the husband and she can be turned out without any claims, even on her children, at the slightest excuse (Hassan, 1984, p.5).

Low status means that a person is overworked and receives little or no pay for the work while having little or no say about when and how to do the work. Hassan, a Pakistani woman social scientist, studied over one thousand women and girls and their work. Her data indicated that an average day for women to work started at 4:30 A.M., prior to morning prayers, and by the last and fifth prayer session of the day, she had put in work for eighteen hours. Girls, according to Hassan, may put in an even longer day because

of their lower status and because of the time some of them devoted to study. This data reveals the double burden of women in many developing countries.

Women in rural Pakistan, spend 50% of their time in direct participation in agricultural field operations. Nine hours of the eighteen are spent in tending animals, milking, processing milk, field work, planting, weeding and harvesting, gathering sticks for firewood, making dung patties for fuel and taking prepared food to the fields for their men. Out of a long day beginning before dawn women devote about two hours of special care to children, particularly if they are nursing. Young daughters have to help by carrying the babies the rest of the time while mother works at home and in the field. Hassan's remarkable study had one most interesting data point. Of 377 girls interviewed, not one single mentioned play as part of the day's activity. Like their mothers, field work, child care, cooking and carrying water fills their days.

Other reports, including some from newspapers, indicated that women are ecouraged by men, in addition to the work already mentioned, to do craft work at night, such as sewing, basket weaving, pottery and weaving carpets, to sell in the marketplace. Women were almost exclusively encouraged to do such work within the confines of their homes. These reports, however, are significant because this is a departure from tradition. Women are being called upon in this process, to be co-bread winners which is certainly not according

to tradition. Economic pressures on the family in Pakistan are such that the few items produced by the women can be sold for some cash and make the difference between survival and death.

It is interesting to note that as additional income becomes available cultural habits keep people from spending such income on a few things that could make life more comfortable, such as a softer bed, or more adequate pots and pans for the kitchen. To highlight this point it could be mentioned that many rural women wear their gold jewelry in ears, nose and on their arms while squatting and making dung patties with the hands for fuel. Such cultural ornamentation has little to do with general life improvement - such as school fees for a girl's or boy's education.

In recent years many Pakistani males have worked overseas in oil rich Arabic countries as laborers, sending home income exceedingly high by Pakistani standards. Yet the general condition of living has not greatly increased, particularly for the women. Almost daily, national newspapers decry the waste of this money through the purchase of VCR's, television sets, radios, motorcycles and other "high-tech glitter". Many of these items, because of lack of money or lack of parts for repair and maintenance, become high-tech litter. Improvement of the status of rural folk, particularly to allieviate women of great toil and drugery and all too frequent children bearing, does not occur with investment in what has been termed "glitter".

Hassan, in a recent speech presented in Lahore, Pakistan, made

a number of important points which summarized her four years of research related to women. These points are summarized in an attempt to shed light on women's plight in the international development scene:

1. It is imperative to improve the lot of Pakistani women in the areas of literacy, health and working conditions in order to improve the general standard of life of Pakistan's children, its future through expansion of women's opportunities in the economic sphere.
2. The present policy of sporadic and largely unplanned programs to assist women must be regularized and funded or there will be nothing more than additional frustration for women in Pakistan.
3. The pre-requisite to women's development is the need to lighten the existing work load of rural women. This can be achieved by providing more convenient and modern sources of energy such as gas and electricity, solar heaters, health services and educational facilities in social welfare programs.
4. There is a national need to manufacture a variety of items to help increase women's efficiency at domestic tasks such as good manually operated churns, improved cooking facilities and washing machines.
5. Women should be trained for more skilled occupations such as electronics, manufacturing and repair of electrical

appliances, manufacturing and finishing textiles and even carpentry and masonry. She asked, "Why should women only be limited to carrying bricks on their heads and not be allowed to do the more comfortable and light work of laying brick which is considered male work?"

6. Women in Pakistan actually have two jobs, the first being home care which is a burden in itself. If women are to be employed productively outside the home, part of her income could be used to hire sevants to help look after children, or provide some sort of holiday.

Cultural and Religious Burden

It could be argued that women who live in religiously orthodox communities, be they Islamic or Catholic, have a triple burden when regularization of child birth is considered. Pakistani women, for instance, are forbidden to use birth control devices and abortion is illegal. Consequently, in addition to their large burden of domestic work is added the burden of some twenty years of child bearing. This fact is seldom mentioned by writers, male or female, in Islamic world since it is a highly sensitive area culturally. The lack of birth control in a very real way, structures the role of the rural women to service of the man, her children and the maintenance of the home.

Purdah, the Islamic custom of secluding women from the eyes of other males outside the family, is another cultural reality which disallows participation of women in most external endeavors. Purdah

effectively shields women from most influences of modernization and education. The exceedingly low rate of literacy among Pakistani women is an obvious result of beliefs and attitudes of males who support purdah. The burden for development is double in such cases, for the country as it faces global economic participation and for its women who with their veiled faces are looking to the past.

Khan, in his book Purdah and Polygamy: A Study in the Social Pathology of the Muslim Society (1972) traces the social traits of indolence, lack of initiative and motivation, resistance to change and progress to the cultural customs of purdah and polygamy. According to Khan, purdah is not the bondage of women only. In societies where men and women coexist, women's bondage inevitably becomes the bondage of men, children and future generations. Purdah separates men and women into two rigidly controlled worlds determined by the biological/sexual difference only. Polygamy creates social structures that are unpredictable and insecure, and family dynamics which lead to frequent jealousies and frictions among family members. Women's world is within the walls of confining zenana, behind the covered veil of inpenetrable purdah. Women are born knowing that they are inferior, unwelcome, always second to males and brothers. They are fearful and powerless, and have long learned to allow external forces to control their lives. Childrearing lies in the domain of women's work. Men are separated from their children and distant to their women. However, women who grow up in the social structure of purdah and polygamy don't have the ability

to provide optimal environment to foster children's growth and development. They are unable to discipline, stimulate and motivate their children; they can not instill the sense of self control and inner responsibility as they don't have them themselves. Rather, they pass on to their offsprings their fear of the outside world and their stifling vision of their present world of zenana.

Khan reminds us that the very societal ills which create hinderances to national development may well be rooted in these cultural customs that the society created. Diligence, motivation, and inspiration of generations of citizens do not come from indolent, powerless and self defacing mothers. Only women who are allowed to grow and develop, who are knowledgeable and confident about the world, are able to instill a sense of responsibility and self reliance in their offsprings.

In spite of purdah and polygamy, women continue to contribute in rural areas to the development but their work is underrated. More tragically the programs designed for them to improve themselves remain prejudiced because cultural biases are maintained in program planning. As L.L. Bean reports:

> Pakistan has an extremely high dependency ratio per employed adult due to the non-participation of women preparing produce for market and several other activities which are directly related to farm income. However, these are considered as part of women's role and not an economic activity worth mentioning (Bean, 1969).

In a recently published book, Technical Education in Pakistan (Ali, 1980) a prominent leader in planning vocational education writes about how to help females become involved in vocational programs. The culturally learned lessons regarding women come across strongly even when such a writer attempts to provide "unbiased" ideas about advancement for women:

> Due to a general increase in the cost and requirements of living, the economic life of an average family has been badly hit. It is now felt that apart from ordinary duties of cooking, bringing up the children etc., the housewives should be trained to take an active part in economic uplift of the family.
>
> Dressmaking, embroidery, knitting, interior decoration, etc. are essential requirements that cause heavy expenditure in a family. A housewife trained as above, can easily minimize the family expenditure on the one hand and can increase family income on the other (Ali, 1980, p.34).

Ali goes on to urge women to get the type of training which "suits their genius and which they can pursue without disturbing the normal life". This of course excludes women from long courses of study, higher education and most technical training programs. In Pakistan, technical training schools for women do exist, but the curriculum is severely limited to such things as sewing, weaving and leather work. In the entire country, the total number of women enrolled in such colleges numbered under five hundred in 1984.

In a very real sense, technical assistance to rural women in Pakistan has just begun. There are no sector-wide development programs for women designed to provide significant opportunities for their participation, or to upgrade this large "womanpower" resource toward more productive work outside their traditional roles in their homes.

Women: The Missing Link in Rural Development

The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (F.A.O.) has reported an economic involvement internationally, particularly in the developing world (United Nations, 1979). Eight countries surveyed, outside of Latin America, revealed that 42% of the agricultural labor force was female. In Africa women played a particularly important role, contributing some two thirds of all hours spent in traditional agriculture and three fifths of the time spent in marketing. Additionally, African women do the majority of weeding and hoeing, harvesting, transporting and storing crops.

The F.A.O. report stated that in Asia women do much of the work in producing rice. In Nepal, for example, women provided two thirds of all labor in rice planting, weeding, cleaning and storing. In Nigeria, women traders handle most of the domestic food products. They have ownership of much of the fleet of "mammy wagons" which transport farm goods in markets. In Yemen Arab Republic, women are taking on more of the agricultural work load than before because so many of their men are working in oil fields and are absent for long periods of time.

This migration of men is a phenomenon found in many developing countries. The men leave home to find employment in urban areas and spend much time away from home. The women become heads of household and are responsible for most of the farm related labor. In Swaziland, for example, more than 50% of households are now women because men are away seeking cash employment in South African cities and mines.

Ignorance of the female role in productive work has serious implications for rural national development. Since the end of colonialism, Third World countries have been engaged in the huge task of modernization, particularly in agriculture. These attempts have been met with mixed success in spite of large investments to raise nutritional levels and improve the health of rural populations. The major methods to bring about change have been through government-run extension services, patterned to some extent on American extension systems.

Rural educators are now asking whether much of this "extension" effort has been directed toward the wrong people. The answer according to many, including the above mentioned F.A.O. report, is yes. When men discuss post-harvest grain losses with extension agents they are talking about the experience of their women who store grain. Cultural norms dictate that males speak with males. In one of the Near East countries, attempts to introduce a new wheat variety failed, because bread baked with the new flour had an unusual color, unacceptable to women who were responsible for baking. There are

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

many such stories that rural workers abroad share with growing frequency, all indicating that new thinking and new programs must be designed to include women functionally for improved productive work.

> Asian and Pacific Skill Development Newsletter says it well: Countries at all levels of development saw a clear trend towards increasing technical and vocational training opportunities for women. The main concerns in industrailized countries focus on training for nontraditional occupations, reentry training, and training for better career prospects. Most developing countries expected major emphasis to be on devising adequate policies and the provisions for income generating skills for women heading households, particularly in rural areas (Asian and Pacific Skill Development Newsletter, 1984, p.5).

In the Third World, the greatest hope lies in education, the best chance to improve the lot of rural women. Curriculum developers working on new projects must now begin to design new approaches, departing from the traditional home economics and nutrition programs in favor of training women to become cash earners, business handlers, nutrition planners and farm and irrigation managers.

It is obvious that women could play a vastly more significant role in development if greater attention is given to the development of technical training programs for them. World hunger looms as a reality. One answer to this problem is to better utilize the other half of the population in many countries more productively. Half [illegible] a world awaits the attention of those who plan, manage, design, teach [illegible] and organize for new technical assistance programs in the [illegible]

References

Ali, Mir Mohammed. Technical Education in Pakistan:A Study of Issues and Strategies. National Book Foundation, Karachi, Pakistan, 1980.

Asia and Pacific Skill Development Programmes, Newsletter, Pakistan, 7:3, July, 1984.

Bean, L.L."Utilization of Human Resources: The Case of Women," International Review, 1969.

Brown, D.L. Recent Changes in the Demographic Structure of Urban and Rural Families, E.R.I.C. Document 144761, 1977.

Chu, Lily. Education for Women: A Global Perspective, E.R.I.C., Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, 1980.

Cloud, Kathleen. "The Roles of Women in Food and Economic Development,"International Journal of Rural Development, 1:1-11; Fall, 1981.

Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. Grove Press, New York, 1968.

Freire, Paulo. Education for Critical Consciousness. Seabury Press, New York, 1973.

Hassan, Iftikhar. "Rural Women's Double Burden and Male Attitude," paper read at the Convention of Business Women and Professional Women's Club, Lahore, Pakistan, July 15, 1984.

Larson, O.F. "Values and Beliefs of Rural People" in Ford, T.R. (Ed), Rural U.S.A., Persistence and Change, Iowa State University Press, 1978.

"One Third of World's People Illiterate, Estimates Show," Herald-Citizen, Cookeville, TN, September 30, 1980.

"Project TARA: An Approach to Adult Education," Lifelong Learning: The Adult Years, 2:25; May 1979.

Ross, Elinor P. "Reaching and Teaching the Rural Poor," The Rural Educator, 6:23-25; Spring 1985.

United Nations, Trained Manpower for Agriculture and Rural Development, Rome,1979.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.297, "Educational Attainment in the United States, March 1975," U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976.